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THE Nation

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Formula for Peace

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Congress on the Campus

Mr. Dulles's Balloon — *Freda Kirchwey*
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Politics Versus Science — *Bruce Catton*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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Letters

Anna Louise Strong Discusses Stalin's "Heir"

Dear Sirs: Much nonsense has been written about the succession to Stalin. Yet the basis for a correct analysis exists in the way Stalin rose to power and in the present chief problem of the world Communist bloc.

Nobody can "appoint" an "heir" to a man like Stalin. His concrete posts have been taken over in accordance with definite Soviet constitutional procedures. But nobody yet has taken over his role as the leader of world communism. In the long run his true successor may prove to be Mao Tse-tung or Mao's deputy, Liu Shao-chi.

How did Stalin rise? I wrote the first article ever published in America about him. It was in April, 1924, when almost no one here, and few in Russia, had ever heard of him. He rose by his able handling of organizational machinery and by his working out of the ideological basis for Russia's future: "socialism in a single state." In 1924 he was recognized only by the party sophisticates; by 1927, after the Stalin-Trotsky controversy, he had won the support of the party rank and file. Through the Five-Year Plan he earned the support of the industrial workers; by 1930, through his intercession in behalf of the peasants against the excesses of the collectivization program, he won the favor of the agricultural population. Finally, the Soviet constitution of 1936 gave him his position as leader of the nation. Thus his rise took twelve long years.

TODAY the Communist world faces its gravest problem since the Stalin-Trotsky dispute of 1925-27. The core of the problem lies in the interrelationship of the socialist states. So far these states have been held together by a common ideology, by bilateral economic and military pacts, and by the hostile pressures from the West. But strains are already apparent. As long as Stalin was alive, the Communist leaders of Eastern Europe were held by his prestige not only as the builder of Russia but as the liberator of their lands. None of the present leaders of Russia, Malenkov included, can benefit from such prestige.

It is on this basis that Western leaders now hope that some of the Soviet bloc members will split away. The Los Angeles *Times* brutally states: "The best we can hope for is an internal war in the Communist states." But the Communist leaders are not fools; they will do all in their power to avoid such a war. Instead, they are seeking to utilize the emotions generated by Stalin's funeral to form a new coalition. What form this will take cannot be predicted, but the man who works out its ideological basis and later its practical application will be the world inheritor of Stalin's power. In this connection it is worth noting that the only Communist writer who has published material on the theoretical aspects of this problem is Liu Shao-chi.

VARIOUS suggestive forms already exist. There is the United Nations; now the West seeks to build up NATO. Indeed, these blocs are characteristic of our times, which call for integration beyond national boundaries. Russia need not be limited, of course, to Western forms. For instance, the Russians are accustomed to organizations with several chairmen. The Soviet Union itself began that way; it is noteworthy that the various peace congresses use this tactic.

In my judgment, then, we may soon see the creation of a joint planning board for the economic development of the Soviet bloc. This might be followed by an international organization limited to Communist countries. Such a group would supersede the Cominform, which admitted Italy and France but excluded China. We may expect the organization to have several chairmen, including a Chinese, a Russian, and one or more from Eastern Europe. Eventually one of the chairmen may win Stalin's mantle. Or the heir may already have been agreed upon when Mao first went to Moscow and handed over to Stalin the leadership of China in return for—what?

Will such a Communist combine mean war or peace? My guess is that it will mean, *not* a widening of the war, but a holding action by the Communists within their own territory and its development from within.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Montrose, Cal.

Solving the Problem

Dear Sirs: A couple of sensible men, Morris Ernst and David Loth, recommended in an article in the March 24 issue of *Look* that we rehabilitate our native American Communists instead of persecuting them. As they point out, a large proportion of disenchanted party members would leap at the chance to escape if it were not for the ruinous penance that we, the righteous public, would exact of them. If instead of punishing ex-Communists with our contempt and hatred, depriving them of their jobs, and wrecking their family and community life, we would offer them our congratulations, respect, and help, we might see a mass exit from the Communist Party.

However, this reasonable proposal raises the question: do we really want to deflate our Communist menace? What, then, could our little wild man, McCarthy, exert himself against? How would the bigots among us be able to ruin the neighbors they fear and envy?

Cambridge, Mass. TED MOYNAHAN

On Moving the U. N.

Dear Sirs: The location of the United Nations' Headquarters in a neutral nation—proposed by Jean Berlitz in *The Nation* of March 28—was considered in some detail by the Preparatory Commission back in 1945. Some of the arguments raised in his article cropped up then. Many of those he invokes are the product of more recent developments.

All in all, however, the decision to locate in the United States seems to have been wise. That the loyalty investigations in this country have impinged upon the integrity of the world organization cannot be denied. But considerations which motivated the 1945 decision hold as true today as they did then.

While there was a fear of renewed American isolationism in 1945, there is reason for more fear in 1953—albeit a slightly different fear. It is admittedly unlikely that the United States would lapse today into isolationism. At the same time this country has shown an increasing preference for unilateral action. Mr. Berlitz's statement that the United States would go it alone in Korea were there no United Nations underscores that predisposition.

The location of the United Nations in New York serves as a constant reminder to the American government and people. Its attraction for tourists—something which Mr. Berlitz would readily

(Continued on Inside Back Cover)

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Volume 176, Number 16
New York, Saturday, April 18, 1953

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Neither Trade Nor Aid?

Evidence accumulates of acute division among Republicans on the tariff question. The internationalist wing of the party, impressively supported by bankers, big industrialists, and conservative economists, favors the lowering of import barriers. It realizes the absurdity of depriving foreign countries of the means of earning dollars and then subsidizing them so that they may buy our exportable surplus. But old-fashioned protectionism is still rife in the G. O. P. and a majority of Republicans in Congress probably agree with Senator Taft, who when asked what he thought of the slogan "trade, not aid," growled that he liked the "not aid" part.

Seeking to postpone a rough-and-tumble fight on the issue, President Eisenhower, who appears to be a low-tariff man, has asked Congress to renew the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act without change for one year pending a study of long-range policy. He has also tried to soften opposition by nominating for one of the two vacancies on the Tariff Commission a former Republican Congressman who is approved by the high-tariff lobby. This has partially appeased Representative Richard Simpson of Pennsylvania, a leading protectionist, who has graciously made it known that if an equally acceptable name is put forward for the second vacancy he may withdraw his proposal to make Tariff Commission findings, under the "escape clause" procedure of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, mandatory on the President.

Is Labor Unity Any Nearer?

The first discussions of labor unity in almost three years—and the eighth series of merger negotiations since 1937—adjourned last week in Washington on a disappointing and inconclusive note. About all the negotiators could agree upon was to appoint a committee to study the problem of "raiding" and to meet again in June. A more hopeful communiqué was anticipated, since this was the first session at which Messrs. Meany and Reuther presided as the new presidents of labor's two major branches. But where was John L. Lewis? And where were the representatives of the Railroad Brotherhoods? Can labor agree to unite at sessions from which representatives of these two strategic unions are excluded?

Given the dynamic quality of American industry and the mobility of American workers, the problems of "raiding" and of jurisdictional disputes cannot be solved by paper formulas; nor should the prior solution of issues of this character be made a condition of unification. With characteristic realism and cynicism, Mr. Lewis has steadily maintained that they can be solved only in labor's "traditional" manner—that is, by ignoring them as long as possible and then working out the best compromise possible within the framework of unity. Witness the fact that the United Mine Workers, during the entire period of its affiliation with the A. F. of L., was never formally granted jurisdiction over the coal miners. Mr. Lewis's formula remains the best we have seen: unite first and settle the differences later. It would be refreshing to find the mine and railroad workers represented at the unity sessions in June.

Year of Decision

The Atomic Energy Commission's announcement that, with the approval of President Eisenhower, it would soon recommend to Congress certain basic changes in the present law is the first official statement of a policy that has been in the making for some months. Two developments are largely responsible for the rapid build-up of interest in the use of atomic power for industrial purposes: the dual-purpose reactor at the Hanford plant (the sale of plutonium to the government would greatly reduce the price at which atomic power could be made available to private industry) and the development of the atomic-powered submarine, which has opened new vistas for industry, particularly for the private power interests. In their wake the big utility concerns began to plan—and plot.

The master-plan was formally revealed at a conference sponsored by the National Industrial Conference Board last October as part of a carefully thought-out and artfully timed public-relations campaign. Behind the plan to amend the present law is the enormously important issue of whether the public's $10,000,000,000 investment in the atomic-energy program is to be conserved for the benefit of all the people or exploited for private profit by a chosen few in industry. Though the

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1953, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

importance of the issue cannot be exaggerated, a grave danger exists that ill-considered amendments will be rushed through Congress before the public can be informed of what is at stake. "Decades hence," comments the *Journal of Commerce,* "when historians look back on that strange year 1953, they may well decide that its most decisive events did not develop from Korea, from Moscow, or the United Nations . . . but from the brief announcement of the Atomic Energy Commission early in April that it was preparing to recommend conditions under which private industry might participate directly in the harnessing of the atom." To inform its readers on this crucial issue *The Nation* has asked Leland Olds, former member of the Federal Power Commission and one of the country's outstanding authorities on national power policies, to prepare a series of articles dealing with major aspects of the new struggle for control of atomic power.

John Hancock: Traduced by His Heirs

The John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company has notified the Community Church of Boston that it cannot permit the church to hold its services in the auditorium of the company's building any longer, since Fulton Lewis, Jr., does not approve of the speakers it has sponsored. In the thirty years of its existence the Community church, congregational in polity, non-sectarian in form, has provided one of the best platforms for liberal social and religious thinking in the nation. While Boston has perhaps not indorsed every speaker who has appeared on this platform, no objections have been raised, nor has the church's right to lease any quarters it desired ever been questioned before. "It is strange," comments the Harvard *Crimson,* "that a company so proud of its heritage"—it boasts of John Hancock's ideals in full-page advertisements—"should suddenly forget America was weaned and strengthened on dissent and ideas. It probably wouldn't take too many letters to remind the company of the principles of John Hancock. The lease runs out in May, and can still be renewed." Or perhaps the directors will decide to change the corporate name to the Fulton Lewis, Jr., Mutual Life Insurance Company. In any case, Mr. Paul Clark is president of the company, and the address is 200 Berkeley Street, Boston 16.

Dulles vs. Bricker

Merlo J. Pusey's article, Hog-Tying Our Treaty Makers, which appeared in our April 4 issue, presented a lucid analysis of the Bricker amendment and its dangers. As the Senate hearings have since shown, more is involved than the efficient conduct of our foreign affairs or the familiar hassle between the legislative and executive branches. What is invidious is the challenge, implicit in the amendment, to federal power by the incorrigible

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states' righters. And it is precisely on this front that Secretary Dulles, in his laudable opposition to the amendment, has chosen to give ground. Thus when he promised the amendments' advocates that he would not push for ratification of the genocide convention, he was simply reassuring the Southern bloc that the Negro problem would never be permitted to reach the United Nations. His disavowal of support for the women's-rights and human-rights conventions was similarly motivated; both agreements, if implemented, could effect an invasion of what certain states continue to regard as their inviolable rights.

But if in certain respects Dulles is putting on a bad show, he is doing so in a good cause. Nothing could be more abhorrent to the cause of peace than to subject our foreign relations—NATO, the mutual-security programs, the United Nations, the delicate Korea negotiations—to the vagaries of Congressional politics. As Mr. Pusey pointed out, there is nothing in our traditional methods of handling foreign affairs which infringes on the rights of the Legislative branch. The Bricker amendment would add only confusion, inefficiency, and McCarthyism.

Duarte's Death

For the first time since his seizure of power Perón of Argentina faces opposition from both the army and the trade unions. There have been several occasions when one of these two pillars of his rule became shaky, but Perón was always able to depend upon the support of the other. This time army dissatisfaction has gone so far that observers consider quite plausible the rumored withdrawal from the Cabinet of the Ministers of the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and National Defense. At the same time disaffection within the pro-Perón Confederation of Labor has been shown in demonstrations and protests by individual unions. The severe meat shortage, in a country where even the ordinary worker has always been able to count upon an ample supply of beef, and the increasing costs of living, are the most important causes of labor unrest.

Buenos Aires is filled with rumors, of which the most insistent concerns the death of Juan Duarte, Eva's brother and, until his resignation just before he died, the President's secretary and confidential adviser. Officially Duarte died of a bullet fired by himself in a gesture of sublime devotion to Perón and of protest against the campaign linking the three names—Perón, Eva, and Duarte—in financial irregularities. But hearsay points to murder rather than suicide. Duarte is supposed to have been the victim of powerful political gangsters, close to or within the regime, who feared exposure.

Perón is trying hard to reestablish his authority. But the present situation could well end with the army taking over from him the powers that he originally took from the army.

Mr. Dulles's Balloon

WHAT WAS Mr. Dulles up to in his "background" report to reporters of the sort of settlement the Administration will try for in Korea, Formosa, and Indo-China? Was he revealing a serious proposal—representing policy, even tentative policy? If so, nothing could have been more reckless and inept. Regardless of the merits of the plan, its public exposure in advance of diplomatic talks or of consultations with fellow-members of the U. N. would surely finish it, as exposure kills a premature infant. An experienced official of a major power engaged in negotiations with a wary foe simply does not dish out the terms of a proposed settlement under cover of anonymity—a short-lived anonymity in this case—to a group of news men. Everything was wrong about it.

So we must assume the Secretary of State was merely sending up a trial balloon to test the breezes of opinion from East and West. If this is so, recklessness becomes sheer irresponsibility. Filled with inflammable gases, the thing was bound to explode in his face. It took only a few reactions from the Asia First boys in Congress and from the official representatives of Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee, a few expressions of wonder and wild surmise from friends in the U. N., and a denial catapulted out of the White House: "The reported Administration policy on Formosa and Korea is without foundation of fact."

But as always in such episodes the denial itself was damaging to all concerned. Newspapers and broadcasting companies refused to be left holding an empty balloon. Reporters who were present at the briefing loyally talked all around the central fact; those who were not promptly named Mr. Dulles as the informant. The Administration was revealed as untruthful and tricky at best; hopelessly divided if the Secretary of State had spoken seriously. And besides, the original content of the balloon is still in the air spreading suspicions, questions, and expectations which will plague the negotiators when they start serious talks after the exchange of disabled prisoners. For the terms, first divulged and then repudiated, may in fact represent the recent thinking of the Administration on a Far Eastern settlement. Or they may not.

Perhaps they had better be summarized here, along with a few of the questions they raise.

1. Division of the Korean peninsula at its narrowest part, some ninety miles north of the present line of battle. (But what about the paragraph in the draft agreement saying that the actual line of contact at the time the armistice is declared shall be the demarcation line? And, looking further ahead, what about the unification of Korea, agreed to by the U. N.?)

2. A United Nations trusteeship for Formosa, with an independent republic as the ultimate goal. (No re-

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conquest of the Chinese mainland by the Generalissimo? And what about the Cairo convention?)

3. A settlement of the war in Indo-China based upon an agreement that Peking will quit sending arms to Ho Chi-minh and that France will grant self-rule to Indo-China. (But who will determine which side will control the country once the French leave and the fighting ends?)

WHATEVER its origin or purpose, Mr. Dulles's maneuver may have loosened his hold on his job. Not only was his prestige dented by the White House denial, but his plan has been implicitly turned down by an equally potent Republican leader. Robert A. Taft says he is against any settlement that divides Korea. Whether he wants the war to go on until the North is conquered he prudently does not say. Taft is also reported to be annoyed with the White House and with the crossed wires between there and the State Department. In view of all this, John O'Donnell, writing in the New York *Daily News,* has revived the idea that Governor Dewey may be scheduled to replace Secretary Dulles, "not tomorrow morning or next week but in the foreseeable future."

One is tempted to believe that anything would be better than the backing and filling, zigging and zagging, that serves as a foreign policy in these days of solemn decision. Governor Dewey is at least an administrator. But let's not jump too fast. On the Far East, Dewey strongly supports a policy to defeat communism through a military alliance of all "free" Asia. Like Taft he is against a division of Korea: he wants it in one piece, presumably under Syngman Rhee or his successor. He is probably less willing to make a political settlement with the Communist governments than is Dulles. This is a time when a shifting foreign policy, however dangerous, may yet be safer than one that is consistently, rigidly tough.

What is badly needed in Washington is flexibility combined with a coherent, realistic picture of the world we intend to bargain for. That there is no such picture in the minds of the policy makers is evident. The Washington *Post* remarked last week: "In addition to talking about a new boundary in Korea, Mr. X [that is, Mr. Dulles] at the aforesaid meeting is reported to have expressed a hope that the civil war in Korea and Indo-China would end and that the civil war between the two China's would go on!" As the *Post* further pointed out, a "disengagement in Korea requires an agreement with the Peking government"—but just how we can reach an agreement with Mao on Korea while we are still committed to the larger project of helping Chiang, or all "free" Asia, overthrow Mao, neither Mr. Dulles nor any other official—Governor Dewey included—has explained. General Van Fleet at least makes sense, though of a bloody sort.

FREDA KIRCHWEY

POLITICS VS. SCIENCE

The Weeks-Astin Fight . . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

SOMETIMES you can tell what they are after by what they say. More often you have to wait and see what they do. Once in a while, however, words and actions together wing straight for the target, and when that happens you can really get a line on what is going on down here. It is likely to make you want to run for the cyclone cellar.

Consider, for example, the curious case of Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, known to his intimates as "Sinny." Mr. Weeks has been complaining about the way in which government red tape can tie the hands of a good administrator who wants to do the right thing. "In private industry," he said recently in a speech at Palm Beach, "an executive gives an order for an improvement in service and—swish—it is carried out. But a business executive in the federal government cannot move as promptly. He is beset by red tape, conflicting authority, legislative commitments, unpaid bills, deficits, and segments of bureaucracy which frequently hamper efficient and swift action. So be patient if the new Administration does not bring the millennium before midnight."

Shortly afterward Secretary Weeks collided head-on with a segment of the bureaucracy known as the National Bureau of Standards. At the request of two government agencies concerned with protection of the public the bureau had made a number of tests on what are known as battery additives—chemical preparations which, added to an automobile battery, are supposed to provide rejuvenation and a longer life. It reported that the preparations it had tested were not worth very much, whereupon the manufacturer of one of them made a vigorous protest, asserting that his business was suffering because of the unjustified meddling of a stuffy government agency.

Secretary Weeks listened to the protest, issued an order, and—swish—the

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order was executed. So was the director of the bureau, Dr. Allen V. Astin, a Republican and a distinguished American scientist. Dr. Astin's resignation was offered and accepted, and a new top-level job was open for the Eisenhower Administration to fill.

IT MAY SEEM that nothing more is involved here than a row between a department head and a subordinate. Under the surface, however, a full-arm swing has been taken at one of the basic concepts of modern government—the idea that scientific research must be divorced from political control, that a government scientific agency calls its shots as it sees them, that government is concerned with protecting the consumer and taxpayer as well as the profits of business men.

The actual value of the particular battery additive in question is a secondary consideration. By this time there are so many scientific reports fluttering about—so many claims and counter-claims about how the additives were tested, who tested them, and what the tests really mean—that the layman can hardly hope to decide who is right and who is wrong. What is important is the catastrophic effect of the row on the Bureau of Standards itself.

For fifty-two years—its entire existence—the Bureau of Standards has been free from interference. No Administration, until now, has played politics with it. Dr. Astin has been on its staff for twenty years. In 1940 he began to play a prominent part in the bureau's work in developing the famous proximity fuse; later he was chief of the Ordnance Development Division and then associate director in charge of the Ordnance Development, Missile, Electricity, and Electronics Bureau. He became director in June, 1952, succeeding Dr. Edward U. Condon, who resigned to enter private industry.

THE BUREAU'S big job is research and development, and in recent years about 85 per cent of its work has been for defense. It started the A-bomb research and pioneered in guided missiles. About 1 per cent of its time is given to testing processes and materials. It does not do this work for private organizations or citizens but at the request of other government agencies, and their reliance on the scientific accuracy and complete disinterestedness of its judgments is a matter of very great importance. In this work the bureau has no regulatory powers whatever. It is solely a fact-finding agency, and the truth of its findings may save millions of dollars to consumers and taxpayers.

Many government agencies which do have regulatory powers depend on government laboratories for objective tests. If the Federal Trade Commission, for example, carrying out the Congressional mandate to keep advertising claims about manufactured products relatively factual, wants to know whether those products actually do what the manufacturers say they do, it goes to the Bureau of Standards to find out. If the Post Office wants to institute a fraud proceeding, it relies on tests made by the bureau. The whole structure of specifications on which the government bid system rests is based on the bureau's research.

When Secretary Weeks undertook to tell the Senate Small Business Committee why he was removing Dr. Astin, he complained sharply that the bureau had "by its very set-up the power to make the introduction of a new product on the market very difficult, to prevent a product's being advertised by the Federal Trade Commission, and to have people labeled 'fraud' and denied the use of the mails." The Secretary went on to say that this was all very well if the bureau used its power wisely and objectively, but the trouble was that "they discount entirely the play of the market place."

Now it is of course obvious that the one thing that the Bureau of Standards, by its very nature, is *not* supposed to have anything whatever to do with is "the play of the market place." Once it gears its operations to that, it loses its value. For half a century it has operated on the principle that its function is to look beyond the play of the market place and provide other government agencies with the sober facts. If this is now to be changed, any attempt to enforce a fraud order, to end misrepresentation in advertising, or for that matter to make certain that the concrete which the government buys for its big dams and power plants is up to standard will be met with the simple question: "Well, are they selling the stuff?" If they are, the play of the market place is working, and that presumably is that.

Ever since he took office Mr. Weeks has been contending that the Eisenhower Administration's effort to put its policies into practice has been hampered by officials held over from the previous Administration. He has referred to such men as "dead wood and poison oak," spoken bitterly of "road blocks" and "booby traps" left by the Trumanites. He has assured his listeners that the situation in Washington is worse than even the Republicans had supposed and that there are "Trojan horses" which must be replaced.

IN VIEW OF all of this talk a glance at Mr. Weeks's own bailiwick, the Department of Commerce, may be in order. The first thing that strikes the eye is that it is very largely composed not of policy-making people but of agencies which have wholly non-political jobs to do. It includes, for instance, the Patent Office, the Weather Bureau, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Bureau of Standards, the Civil Aeronautics Administration, the Maritime Administration, and the Bureau of Public Roads. Still, you never know where a Trojan horse, all garlanded with poison oak, is going to turn up. There was Dr. Astin, for example—swish; and there was Thomas H. McDonald, the widely known "father of public roads," who has recently been replaced as head of that bureau by a Delaware duPont.

The most important of the department's divisions operating in the political sphere is the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, which includes such agencies as the Office of Business Economics, the Office of International Trade, and the Office of Industry and Commerce. Sundry New Dealers from the old Foreign Economics Administration were brought into the Office of International Trade during Wallace's brief tenure as Secretary of Commerce, but for the most part its employees reflect the viewpoint and the appointive power of the Hoover Administration or of Jesse Jones. A man interested in combing Fair Deal time-bombs out of government departments would probably think the Department of Commerce the last place to look.

The blow-up at the Bureau of Standards was handled with excessive clumsiness and may prove to have been a costly political blunder.

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CONGRESS ON THE CAMPUS

A Warning to Universities . . *by Alan Barth*

THE beginning of defense is the recognition of danger. In the academic world today there is a widespread failure to face and to assess realistically the forces in American life which are now mobilized to destroy academic freedom. Specifically, many university professors and presidents do not recognize the real threat to themselves and to the society they serve that is presented by the current Congressional investigations of their institutions.

Not very long ago, for example, the Association of American Colleges adopted a resolution declaring that "the colleges should welcome any free and impartial inquiry" as a means of promoting popular understanding of the accomplishments of higher education. A panel of the American Council on Education, meeting recently in Washington, split sharply on whether to welcome or deplore Congressional investigations: a minority called upon educators to join in protest against the investigations as a threat to academic freedom; a majority held there was nothing to fear from such inquiries and maintained that educators could not claim "freedom of thought" for themselves while denying "freedom of investigation" to Congress. And finally, President Lewis W. Jones of Rutgers University, in a statement designed to justify his dismissal of two faculty members for declining to cooperate with a Congressional investigation, declared that "public investigation of the universities is legitimate, and should be frankly met. It implies no invasion of academic independence."

I am convinced that this attitude of "welcome" toward legislative investigations of universities is disastrous folly. It reflects—at least so it seems to me—a total misconception of the problem. In the first place, only the most absent-minded of college professors could suppose that in any serious sense the investigations would prove to be "free and impartial." The men conducting them have no intellectual competence for the undertaking; they neither understand nor care about the meaning of academic freedom. In the second place, the manner in which the investigations have been conducted makes it plain that their purpose is coercion; their aim is to force the dismissal of individuals who have earned the committee's displeasure. They menace academic freedom, therefore, in the most direct and destructive way.

I have heard men defend the policy of welcoming investigations by quoting the old adage that a soft answer turneth away wrath; and this defense has been buttressed by the argument that the great philanthropic foundations escaped censure by just this technique of meeting their Congressional critics with open arms. But it is a mistake to suppose that the philanthropic foundations emerged from their investigation unscathed because they emerged uncensured. At the conclusion of the investigation, it is true, they were given a pat on the back by their inquisitors. But it is a question how much they will have to pay for this pat on the back in terms of submission. They know now that if they want to be patted again when a Congressional committee chooses to investigate them another time, they had better not give any more fellowships to Aaron Copland—or to any musician whose political opinions may be tinged with unorthodoxy. They know now that they had better not make any grants to colleges that keep "questionable" teachers on their faculties; a "questionable" teacher being one whom an investigating committee wants to question. They know now that they had better not appropriate any of their funds for research into political experimentation or social innovation.

A Congressional hearing—at any rate a hearing conducted under the prevailing know-nothing auspices—is a disadvantageous place in which to fight the battle for academic freedom. It provides, to begin with, an atmosphere uncongenial and unfamiliar to men of learning—an atmosphere in which the presentation of a considered and reasoned argument is virtually impossible. The presentation is bound to be incessantly interrupted by the explosion of photographic flash bulbs, by the movement of newspapermen and curious spectators, by the gavel-pounding of a chairman determined to exclude rationality from the hearing room, and by impertinent questions from members of the committee.

IN SUCH A HEARING the discussion will not concern itself with academic freedom. It will concern itself, as the committee chairmen have made quite clear, not with principles but with personalities. It will revolve around such questions as whether Professor A is a Communist because Louis Budenz says someone told him Professor A was believed to be a Communist a quarter of a century ago. Or whether Professor B is subversive because he belongs or once belonged to organizations which have incurred the disapproval of the Attorney General or the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Or whether a particular college is Communist-dominated because it allowed on its campus a visiting lecturer who denounced the Un-American Activities Committee. Or whether a university is Red because Allen Zoll does not like its textbooks or some of its teachers.

The committee, presumably, will be able to discover a few present members

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of the Communist Party on college campuses. It may also discover a number of teachers who joined the party years ago for respectable reasons, who got out of it years ago for respectable reasons, and who do not now choose—for equally respectable reasons—to make witnessing a career. Some of the professors in this category will seek the protection of the Fifth Amendment in order to avoid possible prosecution or in order to avoid being required to give the names of persons who, like themselves, joined the party innocently and got out of it long ago. Some will refuse to answer questions on abstract grounds of conscience, pleading the protection of the First Amendment, and will find themselves cited for contempt of Congress.

When a committee of Congress hales a man before it and asks him if he has ever been a Communist, it impales him on one or another of the prongs of a trident. If the witness answers yes, the committee is all too likely to insist that he identify individuals who were in the party with him—a kind of degradation which any sensitive man might understandably desire to escape. If he answers no, then the committee may hold over his head the threat of a prosecution for perjury based upon testimony that he was a former Communist by one or another of the committee's former, and professedly reformed, Communists. If he refuses to answer at all, pleading the constitutional privilege against self-incrimination, the committee hopes to have his university discipline him by dismissal.

I SUBMIT that it is outright folly for any university to lend itself to this stratagem. I submit that it is an abdication of academic independence for any university to agree to execute sentences arbitrarily imposed by a Congressional committee.

There is much force, I think, to the statement made by Dr. Barrows Dunham of Temple University, who, with frank defiance, recently refused to tell the House Committee on Un-American Activities anything beyond his name, age, and place of birth. The committee, in response, moved to have him prosecuted for contempt of Congress, an offense of which he may well be guilty. But this is a judicial question, involving nice points of constitutional law, which Dr. Dunham is entitled to have tried in a court of law. If convicted there, he will be subject, of course, to punishment. Temple University, I think, should not have prejudged him; and it should not in the absence of compelling evidence have imputed disloyalty to conduct which was apparently based conscientiously on principle. Dr. Dunham stated the principle in these words:

> There is no question that Congress has the right, as it has the power, to investigate for legislative purposes. What I encountered last week, however, was not genuine inquiry but public defamation intended to extirpate from the colleges not disloyalty but dissent. I conceive that no act of mine could have better displayed my loyalty to this country and its traditions than the course I followed last Friday.

Whatever Dr. Dunham's past may have been, whatever the merits and motives of his individual position—and without more knowledge I have no wish

either to condone or condemn what he has done—it seems to me that he is quite right in the essential point he has made: that the committee has not been conducting an investigation of universities but a purge of university professors. For my own part, I think that teachers who plead the privilege against self-incrimination are neither admirable nor astute. But if they are to be automatically disciplined for doing so, the committees will have developed a formidable method for determining the membership of university faculties—something which might well be determined by the faculties themselves in a free society.

A college which "welcomes" these investigations is mistaken, in terms of principle as well as in terms of expediency. Its attitude violates the essential principle that institutions of higher learning ought to be independent of the government in the same way and for much the same reasons that the church and the press are independent of the government. They cannot make their vital contribution to a free society if they are subject to political control. I am not questioning the legal authority of Congress to investigate institutions of higher learning—or the church or the press, despite the constitutional limitations on legislation in these spheres. But to say that Congress has power to investigate is not necessarily to say that this power ought to be exercised. In my view, it ought resolutely to be eschewed in regard to universities, at least when the aim and tendency of the investigation is coercive.

THE NOTION that the church, the press, and the universities should serve the state is essentially a Communist notion. Government control of these institutions is a distinguishing characteristic of every totalitarian system. In a free society these institutions must be wholly free—which is to say that their function is to serve as checks upon the state, as devices for keeping governmental authority within appropriate bounds.

A free society differs from a totalitarian society in that its government is one of limited powers, and limited jurisdiction. There have always been important areas of American life which have been left to private regulation, higher education among them. The administration of state universities has generally been delegated to boards of regents, responsible ultimately to state legislatures but never to the federal government. The administration of America's great privately endowed universities has always been in the hands of boards of trustees, self-perpetuating or elected by the institution's graduates. And these have been on the whole sober, conscientious, and capable governing bodies, in no need of Congressional supervision.

If universities "welcome" Congressional investigation today, they will end by embracing Congressional control tomorrow. If they let a Congressional committee purge professors now, they will eventually let it control the curriculum. The seeds of ultimate surrender are sown in seemingly trivial and innocent

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concessions. Let us recall the solemn warning on this score uttered so eloquently by John Jewkes of the University of Manchester in England more than a century ago:

> The greatest tyranny has the smallest beginning. From precedents overlooked, from remonstrances despised, from grievances treated with ridicule, from powerless men oppressed with impunity and overbearing men tolerated with complacence springs the tyrannical usage which generations of wise and good men may hereafter perceive and lament and resist in vain. . . . Hence the necessity of denouncing with unwearied and even troublesome perseverance a single act of oppression. Let it alone and it stands on record. The country has allowed it, and when it is at last provoked to a late indignation, it finds itself gagged with the record of its own ill compulsion.

The record of the current investigations into colleges and universities has been a record of "powerless men oppressed with impunity, and overbearing men tolerated with complacence." It is a record which we can review only with a sense of shame. But it is not too late to reverse it and to make an effective defense of intellectual freedom and academic independence. Let us begin now to mobilize the great reserves of devotion and good-will which the universities possess. Let us carry the battle outside the rigged hearing rooms of the Congressional committees and appeal to the alumni associations in every city and town throughout the United States. Let us appeal to the pride of the American people in the great, free institutions of learning which they have built and maintained.

The battle is joined; and no one who calls himself a teacher may now be laggard. Teachers have an obligation to warn their countrymen of the danger that confronts them and then to close ranks and fight as resourcefully and resolutely as they can. They will be fighting for much more than freedom for themselves. They will be fighting for the whole of human freedom.

FORMULA FOR PEACE

A Plea to Americans . . *by Aneurin Bevan*

[*ANEURIN BEVAN, leader of British Labor's left wing, has just returned to London from a trip through the Far East. What follows is his first public statement after his return.* The Nation *will shortly publish several articles by Mr. Bevan dealing with his experiences in the Orient.*]

London

THE FACT that the situation in the Far East has taken a turn for the better may lead some people into over-optimism. I suggest that we cross our fingers and see how things will develop. Although the ending of the Korean war would of itself be a magnificent event, results could be very serious unless there followed a positive attempt at pacification in the Far East. In other words, psychologically the situation would be worse than it is now if the present policy of military containment and preparation for an attack on the Chinese mainland were to continue.

We can understand this better if we realize that for some time now there has been a division of opinion within the Soviet Union. I know that many people seem to think that argument is impossible in Moscow, that as a consequence of the inspiration which comes from the writings of Karl Marx, there is always a sort of spontaneous unanimity of opinion. Perhaps one reason why some people think this way is that we hear from the Soviet Union only what they have decided and not the process by which they reached the decision. But as a member of a Cabinet for six years, I am convinced that all Cabinets must argue, and we can take it for granted that the Russians are no exception in this regard. They have been arguing not merely about their intentions toward the West but about the West's intentions toward them.

What is true of the Russians is also true of the Chinese. The Chinese leaders have been having an argument which goes something like this: If they agree to a truce in Korea, would America—or certain elements in America—regard that as evidence of Chinese weakness? And would these Americans regard the truce as a response to their "get tough" policy which permits Chiang Kai-shek to attack the mainland? If as the result of peace in Korea all that happens is that the United States continues to arm Chiang Kai-shek and to encourage him to attack the mainland, then we will have driven the Chinese masses into spiritual isolation and resentment against the West.

That is the danger. We should therefore regard the present overtures as exceedingly welcome, but we should try to persuade opinion in the United States and here in Britain that a necessary condition for the consolidation of peace in the Far East is the immediate disbanding of Chiang Kai-shek's army on Formosa. As for Formosa itself, return it to the Chinese government to whom it belongs. Spokesmen for the United States have stated that Formosa belongs to China; whatever government is on the mainland of China should be the government of Formosa.

But what we want at this stage is to relieve China of the fear of the resumption of civil war. That is absolutely essential in order to build a permanent bridge between China and the rest of the world.

When I was in India and Pakistan and Burma I talked to very large numbers of people in all walks of life. I did not come across anyone who sympathized with American policy. They could understand why the United Nations had decided to restrain aggression in Korea.

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That was logical. But they could not understand why the nation which was foremost in insisting upon collective security against aggression was itself preparing an act of aggression against China. They say in the Far East: "What is America up to? Is this an assertion of collective peace or is it a preparation for counter-revolution?" If it is the latter, then all over the Far East they see another attempt to establish white imperialism in every Asian country.

GREAT BRITAIN occupies a very powerful position in the Far East, even though we are not as big or as rich as the United States. We have a moral leadership such as no nation has ever possessed before. We exercise this leadership as a consequence of the fact that we were the first great imperial nation in the world voluntarily to abdicate power; that we left India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma to found independent governments of their own. Therefore we are ourselves deeply committed to see that this independence is not threatened from any quarter.

Let me ask my American friends—and despite what is said to the contrary, I have many American friends—whether they seriously imagine that we in Britain are going to involve ourselves in a third world war in order to put Chiang Kai-shek back in China? I have come across no significant enthusiasm for Chiang Kai-shek anywhere in Great Britain, from the extreme left to the extreme right. If there is on Formosa a man who has no chance of realizing his ambitions without a third world war, is it not in the general interest of mankind to destroy that man's power?

It seems to me that we are in a very hopeful but at the same time highly dangerous phase. Let us welcome the overtures that have been made, but let us not behave as though we believed those overtures were a consequence of Chinese Communist weakness. Let us rather believe that they are evidence of a desire for peace.

The Chinese revolution is going through the same sort of development as the Russian revolution did. I can remember taking part in meetings here in London more than a quarter-century ago, when we were fighting for something different from this yet curiously similar. We were demanding then that Britain should give credits to Russia, help the Russian revolution, help the Russians to industrialize. In one thing we succeeded: we did stop Winston Churchill from murdering the Russian revolution. We did not succeed in stopping him and his friends from *starving* the revolution. We must always remember that one of the principal causes for most of the faults of the Communists in Russia stems directly from the fact that the Russians had to industrialize with their own resources and with no assistance from the industrialized West.

The most significant discovery I made when I was in Southeast Asia a few weeks ago was that a rapid conversion from agrarian to modern living standards, unless aid is received from the outside, involves dictatorship inside. It is therefore complete nonsense to talk democracy to the Far East and to starve them at the same time.

All this is nothing new. We in Great Britain went through something of the same thing. The great industries that we are so proud of, the great steelworks that the Indians and Chinese have not got and which are responsible for our own high standard of life, were all built out of the wages which our grandfathers went without. Now we pay the Asians the high compliment of expecting them to do what it was impossible for us to do: to industrialize their country, when they are half-starving, under the aegis of democratic institutions and without any of the roughness that accompanies political dictatorships.

THAT IS WHY I say to my friends in America: don't make the mistake about the Chinese revolution that we British made about the Russian revolution! Even if you give up the idea of destroying it militarily, don't try to starve it to death, because all you will accomplish is to drive the Chinese administration into the same monolithic excesses that you witness in the Soviet Union. That surely is the lesson, isn't it? That is why we want not only to carry the present negotiations to a successful conclusion, but to open the freest possible trade between China and the rest of the world.

Mr. Acheson said that the People's Government of China could not be recognized because it was established "irregularly," but I seem to remember that the United States was itself established very irregularly, and with considerable help from outside. When some of my American friends say that China ought to give up intervening beyond its borders, I recall that France intervened in the American war. I seem to remember that there were more French soldiers in the last battle of the American Revolution than there were Americans. Yes, history gives us many examples of intervention.

Chiang Kai-shek

What we have to learn in this twentieth century is how to maintain collective peace in the world and still enable people to change their governments. And if no democracy exists by which the change can be made, what then? You have no moral case against violence in such a case. Will anyone tell me on what moral grounds you can condemn violence if you deny people liberty?

There rests upon this generation an obligation to fight for peace, and we can fight for peace only by insisting that the lessons of the past be learned. We must tell our American friends that it really is not necessary for them to repeat all the foolishness of Great Britain. We would rather that they proved wiser than we were and showed that they can deal with the Chinese revolution more sensibly than we dealt with the Russian.

The time has come for us to tell our government to tell the American government that we in Great Britain are prepared to cooperate with the United States in the maintenance and pursuit of peace, but not in the pursuit of war. And I am confident that, in saying so, I am expressing the feelings not only of the vast majority of the American people but of the majority of the people of the world.

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MOVIE ULTRA-REALIST

Zavattini's Bold Idea . . *by William Murray*

NO INDIVIDUAL has contributed more to the impressive rebirth of the Italian film industry since the war than Cesare Zavattini, an eloquent and combative intellectual who has become the spokesman of the so-called "neo-realistic" school of writers, producers, and directors. Zavattini has been sole author of fifteen movie scripts and estimates that he has contributed or worked on at least fifty others. His best films were the result of collaboration with the director Vittorio De Sica and include "Shoeshine," "The Bicycle Thief," "Miracle in Milan," and the more recent "Umberto D," which has yet to be shown in the United States. All these De Sica-Zavattini films have been inspired by what Zavattini calls "a hunger for reality."

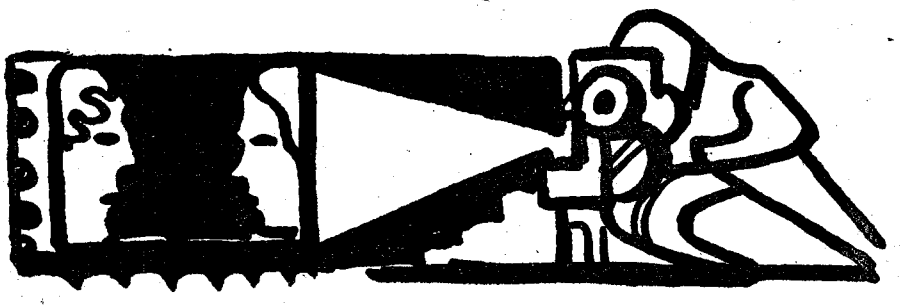
Both he and De Sica consider the cinema a legitimate art form which should not concern itself with "the deceptions of entertainment." "Christ with a movie camera in his hands," says Zavattini, "would not concoct fables, however skilful, but would show us who we are and why we do what we do." That is what neo-realism means to Zavattini, and it explains the kind of film that he and such men as Roberto Rossellini ("Open City," "Paisan"), Luigi Zampa ("To Live in Peace"), and Renato Castellani ("Two Cents Worth of Hope") have been making in the seven years since Italians have been allowed to think and work as they pleased.

Like most genuine art forms, the neo-realistic film was not initially the product of intellectual theorizing. The first example, Rossellini's "Open City," was the result of the irresistible creative force running smack into the immovable economic obstacle. After twenty-five years of Fascist sterility the newly liberated directors and writers were steaming to express themselves, but the limitations of Fascist censorship had been replaced by what seemed to be a more serious handicap—lack of money and equipment. In 1945 few capitalists were rash enough to want to invest in film production. The sound stages of Cinecittà, Italy's major film studio on the outskirts of Rome, had been demolished by the retreating Germans, and the whole area was occupied by thousands of homeless refugees. Even actors, of which a superfluity is usually available, were not to be had. But the neo-realists went ahead and made films anyway. There were no actors: they plucked people off the sidewalks and cast them in the leading roles. There were no sound stages: they filmed in the streets and in private homes. There were no costumes: they used modern stories about everyday events. "Open City," the story of Rome under the German occupation, was filmed at a total cost of $18,000, and to everyone's surprise was acclaimed as one of the great movie masterpieces, which it is.

The Italians realized that they had done something new and exciting with the motion-picture camera. Neo-realism ceased to be an accident and became a conscious technique. As such it acquired devoted partisans and made bitter enemies. Though praised abroad, these realistic movies did not please the Italian public. Rossellini once grumbled that Italians preferred Betty Grable to his films, and when De Sica was on a visit here last year he said that he could not have gone on making pictures had it not been for their box-office success in the United States. Today, within the Italian industry itself, strong pressure is being brought to bear upon writers, directors, and producers to recognize the importance of commercial success. The new technique needed a champion and got one in Zavattini.

A STOCKY, middle-aged, kindly man, Zavattini spends most of the day in his apartment on the outskirts of Rome pounding at his typewriter or dictating to his secretary. His latest proposal for neo-realism is known as the "film lampo," or "film flash." The "film lampo" would carry the early documentary technique several steps farther by completely eliminating actors, sets, and shooting scripts and substituting real situations for recreated ones. Zavattini would like nothing better than to turn a battery of cameras loose upon all of us and record for posterity what we are doing with our lives. "We must recognize the fact," he says, "that neo-realism has not yet attained its ultimate development. It has become clear that after having carried artifice to its utmost possible plane of reality we must now dispense entirely with the artificial and focus our attention upon real, living human beings."

Today if someone wants to make a film about, say, a strike, a plot is conjured up and actors are cast in the various roles. The "film lampo," however, will show an actual strike, and the actors will be those who take part in it. Zavattini has little patience with a person who insists that the imaginary is more interesting than the real. "Such a person," he says, "would plug his



WILLIAM MURRAY, a frequent contributor to The Nation, *has spent many years in Italy.*

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ears with cotton when the anguished screams of his next-door neighbor became too loud." Zavattini believes that almost everything that happens to a man is interesting. The function of realism, he says, is to emphasize the ordinary, not the extraordinary. This will enable us "to understand each other better and give us an ever more exact idea of our position within the fabric of society."

Several months ago a twenty-one-year-old unwed mother named Caterina Rigoglioso tried to abandon her baby in an empty lot in Rome. Her case made newspaper headlines and suggested to Zavattini his first real-life star. Unfortunately, his producer insisted that the girl was too plain, and the project collapsed. Now Zavattini is at work on a new idea which may turn out to be the first "film lampo." He and three young documentary directors are preparing to film, in some thirty episodes of varying length, events witnessed during a stroll through a large city. Everything in the film will have actually happened. The protagonists will be the people of the city.

Of course Zavattini is fully aware that there is also a place for poetic films, like those of Charlie Chaplin, which are in no sense neo-realistic. He does not ask that everyone should embrace neo-realism. He simply distrusts a mass-production movie industry whose taboos are as stifling to creativeness as any imposed by the Fascist censors.

WHEAT WILL VOTE

G. O. P.'s Worry for '54 . . . *by Gordon Roth*

Minneapolis

FARMERS in the upper-Midwest wheat country will decide whether Congress stays Republican or goes Democratic in 1954. And how they vote will depend largely on what they think about one man and his policies. That man is Ezra Taft Benson, the first Republican Secretary of Agriculture in twenty years and the current whipping boy in the Eisenhower Cabinet.

In Congress now the balance is extremely delicate: in the Senate 48 Republicans, 47 Democrats, 1 Independent, 1 Vice-President; in the House at the last count 221 Republicans, 212 Democrats, 1 Independent, and 1 vacancy. If Secretary Benson is right that farmers are against government aid and price-protection laws, and are willing, even when prices of their products are falling, to trust them to the judo tactics of the free market, then the Republicans will win in 1954. If he is wrong, the Republicans will lose. It is as simple as that, barring the unforeseen.

The nation's farm vote went 60 per cent for President Eisenhower. But in the four spring-wheat states of Minnesota, North and South Dakota, and Montana farmers went for Eisenhower better than two to one. North Dakota ran neck and neck with Vermont for top honors by giving him 71 per cent of its vote. In these four states three Senators and fifteen Representatives will be up for reelection in 1954. The Senators are James E. Murray, Democrat, of Montana; Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat, of Minnesota; Karl E. Mundt, Republican, of South Dakota. Ten of the Representatives are Republicans and five are Democrats. What happens here is likely to happen, too, in the rest of this great surplus-food-producing region of the United States.

It may be that the Republican Administration will risk farm wrath in 1954 and gamble on strong consumer support for its "cheap food" program. But a slight ebb in rural Republican strength might become a trend. That could bring defeat in 1954 and set the skids under Eisenhower in 1956.

Most city people wonder what the fuss in the farm belt is all about. They believe farmers are rich. They blame farmers for high food prices. They condemn the "squandering," as they see it, of millions of tax dollars to subsidize farmers. The facts, as compiled by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, show that the per capita farm income went down from $969 in 1951 to $924 in 1952. Non-farm per capita income for the same period rose from $1,744 to $1,827. Oris V. Welles, head of the bureau, says the signs point to a further drop of 5 per cent in net farm income for this year. Harold Roach, head of Iowa's Republican Farm Council, says the drop will be 10 or 15 per cent.

Even in the recent "good times"—and most farmers, like city people, never had it so good—farming has been a nip-and-tuck operation for many. Any farmer will tell you that the things he must buy have gone up more than the things he sells. And something else has been added in recent years—machinery. Tractors have replaced horses. Tractors are not raised but must be bought at a fixed price. Tractors don't eat oats and corn but fuel oil, which must be bought at a fixed price. Paying $5,000 for a combine to harvest 60-cent oats is an easy way to go broke.

Farmers are sensitive to falling prices. Maybe the years of good living and price supports have made them too soft for Secretary Benson's moral-rearmament program. Benson told an audience in St. Paul last month, from which the general public was barred, that his "guiding purpose will be to strengthen the individual integrity, the freedom, and the very moral fiber of each citizen." In a broadcast he appealed for "nation-wide repentance to rid this land of corruption."

It would do all of us good, including

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members of the President's Cabinet, to "raise our sights beyond the dollar sign, beyond material things," as Secretary Benson urged. But what has that to do with falling farm prices? As one raw-boned corn-and-cattle farmer pointed out, "Prices aren't made in heaven, and most farmers know it." Another farmer said, "I haven't been farming all these years for fun."

Secretary Benson's suggestion that farmers raise their sights beyond the dollar sign may plague Republicans in 1954. It may rival Defense Secretary Wilson's quip, "What's good for General Motors is good for the country," as a Democratic campaign barb. Such remarks will certainly not put farmers in a forgive-and-forget mood if farm prices

keep sagging. Here are some of the reasons why they might even cost Republican control of Congress.

1. If Republicans are to keep control of Congress, they must keep control of the Middle West. To do this they must keep control of the farm vote.

2. Middle Western farmers believe that President Eisenhower made a "golden promise" when he said at Kasson, Minnesota: "Here and now, without any if's or but's, I say to you that I stand behind, and the Republican Party stands behind . . . the . . . amendment to the basic Farm Act . . . to continue through 1954 the price supports on basic commodities at 90 per cent of parity. . . . I firmly believe that agriculture is entitled to a fair share of the national income . . . a fair share is not merely 90 per cent of parity, but full parity." This does not jibe with Secretary Benson's belief that "our agricultural policy should aim to obtain in the market place full parity prices of farm products."

3. Middle Western farmers are better organized and more demonstrative in their demands on Congress for price-support laws than farmers in other parts of the country. They distrust the free market as much as they would Wall Street to get them "fair farm prices." Most of them believe that "farm prices are made in Washington."

SECRETARY BENSON'S views are opposed by the Farmers' Union in this area. Here the Farmers' Union—and its parity-price program—is backed by huge and successful cooperatives. These cooperatives have an amazing vitality that is due in part to their historical continuity with the old Equity Cooperative Exchange and the Nonpartisan League. Two of them—the Farmers' Union Grain Terminal Association and the Farmers' Union Central Exchange—have a net worth of more than $50,000,000 in patronage savings. They publish their own newspaper and magazines, sponsor network radio programs, have active field workers, and make substantial contributions to Farmers' Union organizations to carry on co-op educational work.

Farmers in these states have learned that to get results they must organize, buttonhole Congressmen, and compel politicians to outdo each other in delivering on their promises. They have taken lessons in lobbying from the railroads, utilities, and other organized pressure groups.

Senator Milton Young, Republican, of North Dakota, knows this. He is a wheat farmer still and co-author of several amendments which have pegged wheat and corn support-price loans at 90 per cent of parity until 1955. When Secretary Benson failed to make himself clear on price supports, Senator Young went after him with his political bolo knife. Secretary Benson equivocated. Senator Young made wild sweeps. Secretary Benson yielded—said the government would hold butter prices at 90 per cent of parity for one more year. That appeased Senator Young a little. But neither he nor any other Midwestern Senator, whether a Republican or a Democrat, has finished with the Secretary of Agriculture.

The president of the Minneapolis Grain Exchange, citadel of "get your price in the market place" economics, pleaded with Secretary Benson to use his authority to check the fall in farm prices. He even wanted price-protection legislation. The *Argus Leader* of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, which has never deviated from its congenital Republicanism, was so disturbed last month by reminders of the thirties—cash registers ring less merrily now in many prairie towns—that it gave this bit of advice free to President Eisenhower:

> The Eisenhower Administration should do some worrying—and do it quickly—about the recession in farm income. It is a cloud on the horizon that is growing bigger day by day. And it could very readily produce complications of a serious nature—sufficiently serious to result in a sharp setback in the economic indices and perhaps some substantial Democratic victories in the election of 1954.
>
> Economic discussions are usually dry reading, and it is easier to command an audience with remarks about mink coats, government corruption, careless spending, and dissension.
>
> It will be a disturbing error, however, if the Administration ignores the handwriting on the economic wall now growing more emphatic.

If Secretary Benson understands this, he will find life more bearable in the hot months ahead. Parity politics are not party politics; in the farmers' battle to maintain prices party labels mean very little. No one questions Benson's honesty. But his office carries with it the burden of responsible decision-making, and for that good judgment as well as honesty is necessary. Secretary Benson should remember that questioning the judgment of government officials is not a smear on them. It is a legitimate function of free citizens.

This farm-price fight should not be construed as a manifestation of disapproval for President Eisenhower. The President has so far escaped criticism. But lesser politicians are feeling the rising storm of rural discontent. That is why Republican Congressmen are demanding that Secretary Benson do nothing which might drive farmers, who have just been coaxed back into Republican pastures, out into the Democratic wilderness again. If Secretary Benson can keep the farmers fenced and fed—under his present policy—he will have added something new to the unique charm of our two-party system.

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J. Alvarez del Vayo

The Key Questions

United Nations

THE most important events of the week past have occurred outside the United Nations—the agreement reached at Panmunjom on the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners and the Berlin conference between the three Western powers and General Chuikov on air traffic over Germany. But what happened at the United Nations is also important, and it would be a misleading understatement to talk of a mere change in tone. There was, indeed, a change in tone, and it was visible in the handling by the Russian speakers of issues that have hitherto been the most controversial—disarmament, the germ-warfare charges, and the Korean war itself. But there were also changes of substance.

As expected, the most discussed speech was the one made by Mr. Vishinsky on Thursday before the Political Committee. Many would have wished it less controversial and regretted that he spent so much time in pronouncing an obituary on the Atlantic Pact, the Schuman Plan, and the entire foundation of the Western coalition. Mr. Vishinsky based his arguments on statements made by Western statesmen, citing numerous examples of the pessimistic conclusions reached by American, British, and French experts. But the most important thing about the speech, in my opinion, was that it clearly demonstrated Moscow's intention to press the diplomatic peace action initiated by numerous recent conciliatory gestures. It proved also that the United Nations occupies a key place in the Russian plan.

One passage of Mr. Vishinsky's speech carried a particular significance: "We must not always insist on the literal inviolability or unchangeability of previous resolutions. We do not insist on that. That cannot be the basis of international cooperation, which must be based on mutual concessions." This would seem to indicate a disposition toward greater elasticity, including possible changes in the Russian stand on both the Disarmament Commission, when it meets again, and the Korean problem.

Mr. Vishinsky devoted a large part of his speech to proving that there is no "new Moscow peace policy" but that it is Stalin's own peace policy which is being developed at the appropriate moment. This point is important because it lends more weight to Russian proposals, present and future. For every trained diplomatic observer agrees that we are only at the beginning of Moscow's plan to change the international situation. If the current Russian policy were admittedly different from that laid down by Stalin, it would be easy to conclude that a change of mind on the part of the new Soviet leaders or a struggle among them might again produce a different picture within a few months.

Another of Mr. Vishinsky's chief objectives was to invite a psychological return to San Francisco—to the birth of the U. N. and the first Assembly. This involved an exploration of the original causes of current international tension and a revival of the concept of collaboration among the great powers on which the U. N. and its Charter were based. It was also a preparation for the next likely Russian move—a proposal for a Big Four conference on Germany.

Germany is now finally admitted by the Western camp to be the supreme concern of Soviet diplomacy, the real issue which may decide peace or war. A Russian initiative cannot simply, or safely, be countered by a Western proposal of free elections. If Moscow regards the prevention of German rearmament and of German integration with the West as essential, the Russians may themselves ask for elections. They might even agree to such elections under U. N. supervision—a procedure they rejected at the Sixth U. N. Assembly in Paris. To sacrifice their control over East Germany might not be regarded as too high a price to pay, especially since the victors in free all-German elections would be the Socialists, not Dr. Adenauer, and the result would probably be a united, neutralized Germany—no threat either to the Russians or to anyone else.

It became clear last week that Moscow is assigning a greater role to the United Nations. It would not surprise me at all if the Russians were to return to the U. N. specialized agencies, which they quit long ago, and through them enter the vast and promising area of technical aid. From there they could do much to rally the support of the neutral and undeveloped countries, particularly those of Asia.

All this makes it urgent for every interested observer to think in terms of a diplomatic situation quite different from that prevailing today. It would be interesting, for example, if Western political and economic experts would suggest answers to the following questions:

1. *Germany.* What would be the Western reply to a Russian offer of elections in the whole of Germany, controlled by the United Nations?

2. *Japan.* In the event of a Far Eastern situation profoundly altered by the ending of the Korean war, should Japan be permitted to trade with Communist China? Should Japan be rearmed?

3. *International Trade.* If a change in the international situation were to oblige the United States to switch from a predominantly war economy to a predominantly peace economy, what are the possible new markets for its production?

4. *Formosa.* If peace is made in Korea, will American policy toward Chiang Kai-shek be based on the Cairo agreement of 1943, which accepted Formosa as part of China, or, if not, on what concept will it be based?

5. *Control of Atomic Weapons.* What are the possible alternatives to the Baruch plan, now considered even by Mr. Lilienthal as obsolete?

These are but a few of the questions that will have to be answered in the course of adjusting the public mind to the idea of peace rather than inevitable conflict.

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BOOKS

Happiness Versus Power

A Review by Merle Curti

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. By Howard Mumford Jones. Harvard University Press. $3.50.

EVERY school child knows that the Declaration of Independence asserts our natural right to the pursuit of happiness, even if he has not the vaguest notion of what a natural right is or what the Fathers had in mind in using the word happiness. But school children are not alone in being vague about these things. My guess is that a good many scholars could not tell just how the words got into the basic document. Most academicians, probably most historians, would be surprised to learn that the formula appeared in almost two-thirds of the state constitutions adopted between 1776 and the dawn of the twentieth century. The long list of court decisions that turned on the meaning of the phrase "pursuit of happiness" is even less familiar. Historians of our literature, education, recreation, religion, and popular culture could no doubt say something more or less sensible about the meanings attached to the idea of happiness in these spheres. But it is likely that they would confess the need of further study. For the term happiness seldom appears in the indexes of any of the scores of monographs and general writings on American cultural history that fill my library shelves. This is somewhat surprising in view of the intensive cultivation of the history and meaning of American values and ideas in the past quarter-century.

Some years ago Howard Mumford Jones of Harvard University asked himself why Americans had so generally demanded happy endings in the books they read and the plays they saw. The question was the more pertinent since a change in this respect seemed of late to have set in: the public gave signs of a readiness to settle for variations on the theme boy meets girl, boy and girl live happily ever after. It was fortunate that Mr. Jones, one of our most brilliant authorities on American literature and thought, took in hand the inquiry into the history of the much-mouthed but baffling phrase "pursuit of happiness," for he possesses just the scholarly equipment, temper, and wit to perform the task and to present an informed, shrewd, and highly readable report on his findings. The solid yet graceful book at hand is made up of lectures given at the University of Michigan under the sponsorship of the William W. Cook Foundation. It is a book to be read and then talked about —not to be talked about and then perhaps read.

MR. JONES offers plausible answers to the question what streams of thought, what ethical and philosophical tendencies, created in eighteenth-century America the phrase "the pursuit of happiness." We learn that some classical writers held that happiness was resignation tempered by the cultivation in daily life of nature, books, the arts, good food, wine, and congenial friends. This idea of happiness found favor with the eighteenth-century aristocrats who enjoyed the means and leisure for gracious living and thoughtful contemplation. But eighteenth-century Americans also inherited the Christian tradition, with its emphasis on the idea that happiness is to be found in obeying God's law. In the minds of the Puritan divines there was nothing at all incompatible between this and worldly success. In fact, God blessed economic enterprise, especially when it turned out well. Mr. Jones learnedly lets us in on the secret of just how all these ideas about the pursuit of happiness came to be associated with government.

If the meaning of the phrase seemed more or less self-evident to the eighteenth century and therefore in no need of special definition, this was less true in the nineteenth century. Mr. Jones could have illustrated the conflicting views on the subject by taking his examples from a wide range of belletristic writers. He has chosen three whose lives spanned the century—Cooper, Emerson, and William James. The author of Leatherstocking held that the advance of rough-and-tumble democracy, laying low as it did status and and the inheritance of property, dealt a deadening blow to happiness. Cooper found solace in God and in His orderly and dignified church. Emerson had no use either for Cooper's passing élite or for his God. He found happiness rather in self-realization within the frame of spiritual laws. In the latter part of the century William James, like Cooper and Emerson, rejected the pursuit of the dollar as the way to happiness. This he found rather in the adjustment of inner experience to the outer world. James made it clear that this adjustment was easy enough for those endowed with a happy-go-lucky temperament and hard for those to whom the world was a painful business. But for those who faltered not in the struggle the exhilaration of sustained effort brought the reward of happiness. Had Mr. Jones been writing a longer book he could no doubt have pointed up the essential American qualities in all these formulas for happiness by comparing and contrasting Cooper, Emerson, and James with their opposite numbers in the Old World. This would, indeed, have been illuminating. And I think that Mr. Jones would agree that, given more space, it would have been well to emphasize the relation of science and technology to thought about the pursuit of happiness.

In our own day few give more than the barest lip-service to Cooper's notion that happiness is to be found only in an order that recognizes status. (The idea is, however, simmering in the writings of those who are trying to elaborate a neo-conservatism.) More seem to find an appeal in Cooper's decision to fall back on a traditional God—but no one can say of how many this is true. There are also, certainly, those who find

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inspiration in Emerson's doctrine of self-realization in tune with universal truth and law, as many cults testify. But it is a big question whether any great number of Americans really reject the idea, shared by Cooper, Emerson, and James, that business success is closely related to happiness. On the other hand, the Jamesian stress on adjustment as a never-ending process lies at the basis of much that is done today in the name of counseling, guidance, scientific management, mental hygiene, and the whole psychiatric approach to life's problems. The chapter in which this theme is developed is too rich and riotous for me to cite even one example: you will have to read it. You will know, while you do, what happiness is, I suspect.

IT IS RIGHTLY SUGGESTED by Mr. Jones that it may be well to take a more critical look at the prevalent vogue of the adjustment formula. I think he might himself have gone much farther than he did in this respect. For grateful though Americans should be for all that is theirs, and justifiably indifferent to the note of frustration and anxiety that colors so much of our notable recent literature, they might also be concerned over the implications for happiness of the retreat of private judgment before an ever more demanding state. In one of the most original and erudite parts of his book Mr. Jones discusses the court opinions that have tried to define the area in which the individual is permitted to pursue happiness free from the restrictions of the state, and the area in which the state justifiably restricts that pursuit in the interest of collective happiness. Many of the cases discussed were contradictory and ambiguous: in some states at certain times the courts set aside legislation that interfered with the pursuit of happiness through imbibing intoxicating liquors, that required a masseuse to pass an examination in hair-doing before being permitted to give facials, and that forbade men to make contracts to work as long and under such conditions as they chose. On the other hand, in the interest of social well-being and happiness courts have also interfered with the individual pursuit of happiness through smoking opium, burning natural gas by day and by night, and buying a copy of "What Every Young Girl Should Know."

It is obvious that happiness requires both individual freedom and individual restriction. The mounting tide of the latter, however necessary, has been accompanied by the waning of a great many traditional American protest and reform movements—notably the peace movement—and by a corresponding emphasis on individual adjustment. It would indeed be ironical if some future historian of the pursuit of happiness should record that at the very time widespread material well-being triumphed, the demands of conformity in a world power struggle jeopardized the traditional American emphasis both on improving the social environment by change and on self-expression in the sphere of the mind.

New Fiction

Reverie of Frustration

THE OUTSIDER. By Richard Wright. Harper. $3.95. Richard Wright and Henry Miller are among the few writers of stature who emerged from the transitional period of the 1940's, when the older generation went sour. For that reason the failure of Wright's new novel is deplorable; it betrays our hopes as well as his. The story, despite some excellent scenes of realism in Wright's old manner, is symbolistic in structure. Quite like Ralph Ellison's "Invisible Man," it presents the predicament of the Negro intellectual, separated from his race, disenchanted with communism and perhaps all political salvations, attempting to evaluate the meaning of an existence that is completely in the void.

There are remarkable passages in the narrative. The analysis of the "sensuality of power" in the Communist mentality is devastating. Rejecting Ellison's meliorism, Wright's "hungry mind" explores the farthest extremes of desperation and surveys almost every unpleasant aspect of the emancipated

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Negro's social status, or lack of status. But these intellectual sorties—a kind of incessant, compulsive reverie of frustration—gain their brilliance at the expense of the narrative itself, during which the hero becomes an abstract monster, and even murder is only the occasion for another bout of introspection. Perhaps Wright can profit from the career of Jack London, who traversed much the same literary path from illegitimacy to paranoia. In any case the book is bad, but only as a work of genuine talent can be bad, and nevertheless full of interest.

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Youthful Horrors

NINE STORIES. By J. D. Salinger. Little, Brown. $3. Accomplished and effective stories which range from the macabre to the psychopathic by the author of "Catcher in the Rye," including the much-discussed *New Yorker* tale of the child prodigy who pushes his sister, we think, into the empty swimming pool. Mr. Salinger is a fiction writer of great brilliance; the danger is that he will become one of definite and ultimately disappointing limitations. Just as Saroyan has succumbed to the glamour of a happy childhood, it is possible to be infatuated by the charms of juvenile diseases at the expense of a larger and more complex area of human suffering. This is sickness of mind in a very small world for a writer of large gifts.

Hollywood Actor

PRINCE BART. By Jay Richard Kennedy. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.95. A sensational and much-publicized Hollywood novel that is nevertheless excellent reading of its kind and shows the keen discernment and technical virtuosity of its author, a talented first novelist. Mr. Kennedy explores areas of animal vitality and subhuman or superhuman cunning that neither "The Last Tycoon" nor "The Day of the Locust" quite reached, and does it very well. The protagonist is a famous actor who has suffered a heart attack; the account of his daily life is grotesque and tragic. It is only when the story reaches back into the past, and moves from the area of lust and calculation to that of depth psychology, that the narrative falters and takes on something of the slippery make-believe of the world it describes.

French Love Story

COUNT D'ORGEL. By Raymond Radiguet. Grove Press. $3. In a translation by Violet Schiff which frequently traduces the light flow of the original, Radiguet's study of Paris high life in the twenties has at last been brought out for American readers. The story is, in the purest sense, a love story, in which the young protagonist, François de la Séryeuse, loves but does not possess the wife of a close friend. Mahaut, Countess d'Orgel, a tenderly exotic yet believable prima donna, discovers that "passion found its way to [her] so artfully that there was no time to prepare [her] defence." Yet to this double yearning there was no consummation, for François, recognizing the superficiality and caustic artifice of his friend, at bottom understands and condones it as characteristic of the frantic period in which they live. Hence he does not despise him and cannot betray him.

Jean Cocteau, in a short preface giving just homage to Radiguet's precocious talent, quotes the following prescient passage from the author's notes —Radiguet died at twenty-one: "What family does not possess its infant prodigy? Certainly remarkable children exist, just as there are remarkable men. They are rarely the same ones. Age is nothing. It is Rimbaud's work and not the age at which he wrote it that astounds me." To those already familiar with Radiguet, whose best-known book is, of course, "The Devil in the Flesh," this delightful yet heartbreaking little story will come as a welcome addition.

Does It Make Sense?

THE LAUGHING MATTER. By William Saroyan. Doubleday. $3.50. Frankly, this is a puzzlement. The story concerns an Armenian family of four, including the son Red and, believe it or not, little Eva, aged four, nicknamed Sexy, because "sexy means beautiful." Mama (Swan) becomes pregnant by another fellow; the father, an English professor, beats her up and flees from the house amid the most profound wisdom from the mouths of little Red and Sexy, beside whom Henry James's children are backward. From then on the narrative becomes a mish-mash of violence, anguish, love, hate, forgiveness, symbolic speeches about I know not what. Mama Swan dies from an overdose of sleeping pills; hubby goes mad and shoots his brother (by accident?); the lover, identified, commits suicide. The children are left to stumble through the halls of the Library of Congress, one supposes; or the graduate school at Princeton, in quest of Einstein. Does this make sense to you? It shouldn't, but it is really no laughing matter. Saroyan, a nice writer in his right mind, should be ashamed of himself.

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Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THE retrospective exhibition of Georges Rouault, which has arrived at the Museum of Modern Art from Cleveland, was reviewed in this column on the basis of its appearance last January in what I was repeatedly warned not to call the Midwest. Different settings and new juxtapositions inevitably challenge one's earlier reactions, but I do not wish to alter except in details the comment already made. The ampler spacing which the Museum of Modern Art affords this show is much more sympathetic to Rouault's big-scale effects, and the reticent grays of the walls are infinitely preferable to Cleveland's bright yellow. But the works of Rouault are so powerful that they merely need to be shown; in quantity, however, they seem less repetitious when less closely packed. One additional Clown, from a private collection in Springfield, has joined the sober company. Its cone and crescent of white hat and ruff dominate the very dark blue-green of the costume and the deep browns of the face and background. I still find the very recent works rather chalky and occasionally insipid, and I still think the masterpiece of the show is the huge Clown lent by Edward G. Robinson.

Three other fine Rouaults have been shown for the past month on the ground floor of the museum among forty paintings lent by this same collector. In a genial foreword Mr. Robinson has admitted that crime sometimes *does* pay. As a collector, he has fared well but not always brilliantly, if I may be allowed to express a tactless opinion. There are a good many items which are chiefly interesting because a certain painter painted them. But there are two great masterpieces, both early works: Cézanne's Black Clock—which symbolically tells no time—and Matisse's La Desserte of 1897, his first major work, preceding by ten years the Bonheur de Vivre, which the Barnes Foundation makes so little available to an interested public. There is a wonderful late Corot figure piece, and there is Van Gogh's Père Tanguy, painted toward the end of his sojourn in Paris, marking perhaps the first return of the power of his Dutch period after his difficult struggle to assimilate the ways of impressionism. Three Pissarros and three Renoirs illustrate the cogency of Paul Klee's remark: "So, in their time, the Impressionists—our opposites of yesterday—had every right to dwell within the matted undergrowth of everyday vision." I do not recall ever having seen a more buoyant or fresher Sisley than the Pont Saint Cloud, but the Monet, Willows, is a frail example without much sensation of either the matting or the undergrowth. Gauguin, whom Henri Focillon once called a Peruvian bourgeois, tried awfully hard to be different from the everyday Impressionists. In Horsemen on the Beach, a very late work, he has achieved color harmonies of unparalleled lushness, but the horsemen are out of Degas all the same, and their silhouettes are bad Degas, utterly undistinguished when observed on their own account. Opposite this much-overrated canvas hangs a military trumpeter on a muscle-bound mount; the picture is labeled Géricault, who, if he painted it, is best not remembered by it. But the Toulouse-Lautrec, Jane Avril Dancing, is for the ages; and two Boudins, though minor efforts, are ravishing.

ROBERT MOTHERWELL, in a show at the Kootz Gallery, includes a number of collages, for which he uses ordinary wrapping paper, the brown color of which will presumably remain fairly constant. Working it into curved shapes infiltrated with pale gray-blue areas, he conjures up reminiscences of sandbars and coastlines. This kind of delicacy is a little unexpected from Motherwell, whom I link with Gottlieb and some others as carrying, or able to carry, mural painting well beyond the point where Léger left off rather too long ago. I do not like these collages of Motherwell's, perhaps for the same reason that I find his small studies for big compositions tight and suffocated. He works best with a few forms on a large canvas, as in La Danse, where three black curvilinear shapes weave a

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rhythm of terrific impact on a field of blazing red-orange bound by a deep border of khaki. The title suggested Matisse, and I have heard Motherwell criticized in intelligent quarters for merely warming up what Matisse did long ago and better. I do not agree with any such estimate. One way of expressing my feeling would be to say that Motherwell's rhythms and chords of color, though doubtless based on Matisse in some final analysis, are powerfully contemporary, whereas Matisse belongs, even today, to his own Art Nouveau generation, which also included Toulouse-Lautrec and Edward Munch, not to mention Aubrey Beardsley. (For this approach to Matisse I am indebted to an unpublished study by Frank Trapp, which strongly diverges from Alfred Barr's estimate.) Several seasons ago the Museum of Modern Art organized a show called Three Modern Styles: Art Nouveau, Cubism, and Free Form. Each was presented as a reaction from the preceding style, and in the natural course of events the third was to some extent a return to the first. To interpret Motherwell as neo-Matisse seems to me as erroneous as to interpret Delacroix, who moved away from the neo-classicism of David, as neo-rococo, though of course there are important points of resemblance between Delacroix and Fragonard.

TWO OTHER LEADERS of the newer American painting, Willem Dekooning and Bradley Walker Tomlin, have been exhibiting in the adjoining Sidney Janis and Betty Parsons galleries. [Dekooning's show ended April 11.] Nothing could more clearly indicate the perils of ism-coining than the wide divergence of these two so-called Abstract Expressionists. Dekooning was never altogether abstract (Black Friday, The Excavation, The Attic), and the present show offers six large canvases all titled The Woman. If I had seen these paintings before reviewing Jacques Maritain's new book in last week's *Nation,* I should have remarked that they illustrate perfectly Maritain's unfortunate attack on today's deformations of the human figure. I should also have remarked that his attack applies also to the early water colors of prostitutes by Georges Rouault, whom Maritain rates at the summit of modern art. Actually, Dekooning's females are less terrifying in the context of 1953 than Rouault's probably were around 1905-08, and they are no more worked over than many Cézannes. The violence of Dekooning's earlier work is still there, and so is the discipline: note how the grays and silvers inclose the new range of color and how the blacks set them off with something of Rouault's sense of contrast and accent. In addition to the six big canvases, there is a series of small studies. While these are chiefly interesting as examples of work in progress, the same can be said for many of Cézanne's water colors on the theme of The Bathers, which lead up to two major canvases, one at Philadelphia and the supreme achievement of them all at the Barnes Foundation—if photographs can be trusted.

From Dekooning's electric violence to Tomlin's measured elegance is a big shift in emotional gears. Tomlin's recent work is not essentially different from what he has been doing in the past four or five years, and as this vein is a richly productive one, we should rejoice in its continuation. On the whole, however, the tone is more tenuous than before and the color relations are increasingly subtle. At the Museum of Modern Art show of fifteen Americans, Tomlin seemed to me to play Braque to Pollock's Picasso; now he puts me in mind, if such a combination can be thought possible, of a large-scale mid-century Demuth. From me this is high praise indeed. Within the limits that Tomlin, like every good artist, sets himself, he has a considerable range. While all the pictures are completely non-objective, their poetic impact is very strong and very concrete. The first picture to the right of the entrance (Number 1) may be compared to the experience of looking at Japanese cherry blossoms against a gray sky, or even to the interior of Bavarian eighteenth-century churches of the style I like to call "barococo." But like Pollock, Gottlieb, Dekooning, and Motherwell, Tomlin is at his best in large canvases where the play of his forms has a wider scope. I do not think of him so much as an architectural muralist because of the overwhelming importance of texture and the nearly unbelievable refinement of color harmonies. Anyone who would pass this off as decoration alone should be prepared to make the same estimate of Watteau, for whom I suspect that Tomlin has a secret affinity. We are certainly not in an Age of Degradation, as Maritain would have it, when the prevailing idiom is varied enough to allow a Dekooning and a Tomlin to coexist.

Music

B. H. Haggin

THE New York City Opera's production of Rossini's "La Cenerentola" proved to be one of its finest achievements, which deserved its triumph with the audience at the first performance. The company has been—and continues to be—undiscriminating in its adventurousness; but this time it chose a work that deserved the effort expended on it: "La Cenerentola" is filled with superb and delightful writing in Rossini's lyric, comic, and florid bravura styles—the last in particular often taking one's breath away with its controlled extravagance. Also, the company has repeatedly undertaken works that one thought beyond its resources and powers; and this one required styles of singing that one didn't expect the members of the New York City Opera to be capable of. But the company usually has come through successfully in the past; and this time again Frances Bible astonished one with a bravura style that gained in security and impressiveness in the course of the performance; Richard Wentworth astonished one as much with his buffo style; and George Gaynes's buffo style was perhaps the greatest surprise of all to those who knew him as the romantic male lead in "Wonderful Town." Surprising too, if Riccardo Manning was the Italian tenor he seemed to be, was the musicality and taste that operated in his phrasing of lyric and florid music. Having said this I must add that one thing in the singing of Bible and some of the other Americans—Laurel Hurley,

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Edith Evans, Arthur Newman—was disturbing: their pronunciation of Italian, principally their sharp American t's; and I find it difficult to believe that these singers couldn't with sufficient work and care achieve as good pronunciation as Wentworth's. Also I must add that under Rosenstock's direction the orchestra didn't surprise one in the way the singers did—with the style, the sharpness and tension, that its playing would have had if Cantelli or De Sabata had conducted.

In addition the singers acted well—above all Gaynes, whose Dandini astonished one further with the make-up and all the other detail of a superbly worked out stylized characterization. And in this one saw the excellent stage direction of Otto Erhardt. Corny scenery and direction have been the weakness of most of the company's productions; and one felt a little uneasy at the first sight of the scenery of Rouben Ter-Arutunian based on an old English toy-theater adaptation of the 1830 production at Covent Garden. But what would have been unbearably cute with some of the direction the company has offered in the past proved quite charming as the background for the unaggressively amusing details of action in which Erhardt made the essential lines of character and story explicit. His work was a model of what opera direction should be: assuming the audience's inability to understand the Italian words and its knowledge only of what it had read in the program—e.g., that Dandini impersonates Prince Ramiro, and eventually reveals his true identity to Don Magnifico—Erhardt made this explicit, with restraint as remarkable as his sense for comedy, in details that caused the audience to burst into laughter at Dandino's first entrance and kept it laughing all the way through his duet with Don Magnifico. And it is therefore hard to understand the interpolation of a spoof of ballet that is completely out of context in the production and a shocking lapse of taste and intelligence.

In the Metropolitan Opera "Don Giovanni" that I attended George London sang beautifully, looked dazzlingly handsome and elegant, and acted with his force of presence and projection—which would seem to add up to a hundred per cent; but without the make-up that conceals his youthful appearance in other roles his Don Giovanni simply wasn't old enough to be credible as the libertine with 1003 conquests in Spain alone. In the first act Eugene Conley sang *Dalla sua pace* with flawless beauty of tone and sustained phrasing, and Roberta Peters surprised me—after her singing in "Rigoletto" last year—with a lovely performance of *Batti, batti;* but Regina Resnik's tremulous stridency in high notes, Margaret Harshaw's combination of tremolo and acid, and Salvatore Baccaloni's buzz-saw-like hoarseness amounted to sheer assault and battery on the ears. It was astounding therefore, and appalling, to observe what happened at the solo curtain-calls: the perfunctory applause for Conley, the storms of applause and yells not only for London but for Harshaw, for Resnik, for Baccaloni. I observed recently that the Metropolitan should offer the public only the good singing that would teach it to recognize bad; instead the Metropolitan has presented good and bad equally as the best in the world, until the public by now doesn't always recognize the good and even prefers the bad.

For the record I must add that in the second act Conley got a little breathless in one of the long florid passages of *Il mio tesoro;* and that on the other hand Resnik and Harshaw reappeared miraculously freed of their tremolos—the result being to leave Harshaw's voice merely rough and harsh, but to reveal Resnik's as quite lovely when it is under control. I should add also that Reiner produced a beautiful orchestral framework for the singing, but that the dramatic framework attributed to Herbert Graf is one of those most urgently in need of replacement at the Metropolitan.

Art Notes

WALLACE PUTNAM'S paintings present cows, landscapes, and seascapes of a far from wild and woolly West. He uses a pictorial shorthand that inscribes the essence of scenes in clear flat colors. —*Passedoit to April 25.*

BETH CREEVEY HAMM, former president of the National Association of Women Artists and an active exhibitor, shows water colors of scenes in Colorado and Connecticut. The colors are warm, the style illustrative, and much attention is paid to contrasting forms of flowers and rocks.—*Argent to May 2.*

ARMIN LANDECK is represented in this retrospective exhibition of twenty-five years of printmaking by etchings and engravings of lonely streets and buildings lit by street lights. They are fine atmospheric prints in a style akin to Hopper.—*Kennedy to April 30.*

LAWRENCE KUPFERMAN, one-time surrealist, has taken Biblical themes for his new paintings. These are richly colored abstractions which suggest the universality of their stated subjects.—*Levitt to April 30.*

SNORRE ANDERSEN is a Norwegian painter having his first show in the United States. These landscapes of New England express moods of nostalgia or loneliness.—*Serigraph to April 27.*

W. R. LEIGH, last member of the trio of painters of the Old West which included Remington and Russell, is showing a representative selection of a half-century of his work. His paintings portray cowboys, Indians, bronco-busting, and all the picturesque subject matter of the last frontier.—*Grand Central to May 2.*

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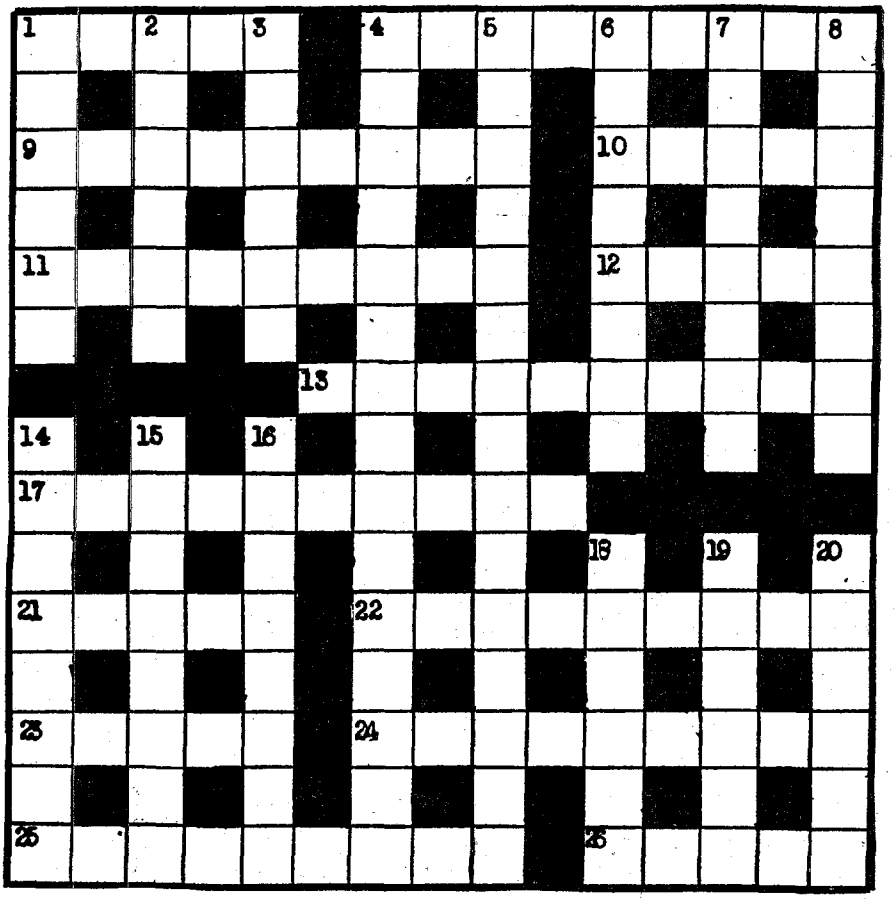
Crossword Puzzle No. 512

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Aside from helpers, the president is entitled to a few. (5)
4 In the old days, many a vessel this; and some this with many a vessel. (9)
9 This is one lacing that certainly isn't ill-suited. (9)
10 Tarkington's magnificent family is left childless. (5)
11 Where Lady Macbeth immediately placed *imprecations*? (2, 3, 4)
12 A couple of notes for money of account in Italy. (5)
18 Various styles of baggage handled by the railroad? (5, 5)
17 One couldn't say Shelley or Keats was like a man in court. (10)
21 Does he admit to having something? (5)
22 Is ring poise acquired by a change of dressing gowns? (9)
23 Stradivari's teacher, named by proclamation. (5)
24 Were Elgar's variations so mysterious? (9)
25 Sort of dreads to see the name on the outside, perhaps. (9)
26 A rather plain sort of fur. (5)

DOWN

1 One of the things that makes the fleet so fast? (6)
2 Indicate the sort of need to take such things as 12 away? (6)
8 It holds things together more on the slant, perhaps! (6)
4 One would expect spoiled children with those who don't spare the rod and those who aren't wide-awake. (15)
5 Divided what is immeasurably great about 4, to barely mention an example. (5, 10)
6 Water which suggests the transfer of its barrier? (5, 3)
7 A glib line is bad enough, but even more dangerous in print! (8)
8 This sort of room used to be associated with Carroll's party. (8)
14 Convenient eating establishment article, typified by Olympia. (8)
15 Stops to make a sort of synonym for one who 4-across too often. (8)
16 Charge off, but not all at once! (The British would make this look like quite a joint.) (8)
18 This might make me lean over on my teeth, perhaps. (6)
19 Leave a little change for the chief —it's perfectly all right. (6)
20 Refuse to go where you might find wood and tin. (6)

• ✠ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 511

ACROSS:—1 CONSTRAINS; 6 SPIT; 10 ARMLESS; 11 IMPLODE; 12 GENERAL SHERMAN; 14 ABERDEEN; 15 and 23 down SPACE SHIPS; 16 LABELS; 18 ASPIRATE; 22 SHOULDER STRAPS; 24 INSIGNE; 25 PROPOSE; 26 SO-SO; 27 PERSISTENT.

DOWN:—1 CHANGEABLE; 2 NOMINEE; 3 TIERRA DEL FUEGO; 4 ABSOLVE; 5 NEIGHS; 7 PROSAIC; 8 TIER; 9 APPROPRIATIONS; 13 ASSESSMENT; 17 BEHESTS; 19 STRIPES; 20 ABALONE; 21 ADHERE.

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Letters

(Continued from Inside Front Cover)

appreciate if he were working at United Nations Headquarters and not abroad—is but one indication of the interest which comes with proximity.

The most significant indicator of the connection between the location of the United Nations in this country and the influence its presence has on our government is to be found in the anti-United Nations editorials of the Hearst papers. "Get the United States out of the United Nations and the United Nations out of the United States!" What better testimony to the importance of the United Nations' presence do we need?...

Most important, however, Jean Berlitz's argument seems to be based upon a wrong diagnosis. The United Nations' troubles have been aggravated by its location in the United States. To argue, though, that a short trip to a neutral nation would cure its difficulties is the sort of naivete of which the best friends of the world organization cannot be accused.

PETER B. KENEN,
United Nations Correspondent,
Intercollegiate Broadcasting System
New York

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Dear Sirs: Many readers of *The Nation* have been kind enough to write to me about my article, I Have a Thing to Tell You, in the January 24 issue. . . . Their letters have given me reassurance that more and more people in this country, on their own and through organizations, are resisting the current shameful attack on our political freedoms. We must see the belligerent minority behind that attack for what it is and fight back with the strength of the majority. For we are the majority, and we must trust the majority to stand with us in this fight.

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